

Marin Zaninović

Još o hvarskoj Herakleji

A little more on Hvar's Herakleia

Marin Zaninović
HR, 10000 Zagreb
Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu
Odsjek za arheologiju
I. Lučića 3

UDK: 904:737.1(497.5 Hvar)"652"
911.372(497.5 Hvar)"652"

Pregledni rad

Primljeno: 19. 7. 2007.

Prihvaćeno: 20. 2. 2008.

Marin Zaninović
Croatia, 10000 Zagreb
Faculty of Arts and Letters in Zagreb
Archaeology Department
I. Lučića 3

UDK: 904:737.1(497.5 Hvar)"652"
911.372(497.5 Hvar)"652"

Review article

Received: 19 July 2007

Accepted: 20 February 2008

U svome opisu plovidbe Jadranom Pseudo-Skilak spominje Herakleju s lukom. Tekst se datira u drugu polovinu 4. st. pr. Kr. To je vrijeme pada sirakuške prevlasti na Jadranu i nesigurnosti s time povezane. U lokalnim kovnicama novca dolazi do prekivanja emisija. U vrijeme Pseudo-Skilakova *Peripla* javlja se i novac Herakleje, s najvećim brojem primjeraka nađenih na otoku Hvaru, u gradu Hvaru i Starome Gradu. Kako je na mjestu Staroga Grada bila naseobina Faros, to onda Herakleju treba smjestiti na mjestu grada Hvara i njegove luke, oduvijek značajne točke na plovnom putu duž istočne jadranske obale.

Ključne riječi: Herakleja, Faros, Grci, Iliri, novci

In his description of circumnavigation of the Adriatic, Pseudo-Scylax mentions Herakleia with a harbour. The text is dated to the latter half of the fourth century BC. This was the era of Syracusan domination on the Adriatic and the corresponding insecurity. In local mints, a discontinuation of coin circulation occurred. During the time when the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax appeared, the coins of Herakleia also appeared, with the most examples found on the island of Hvar, in the towns of Hvar and Stari Grad. Since the settlement of Pharos was at the site of Stari Grad, Herakleia should be located at the site of today's town of Hvar and its harbour, always an important point on navigation routes all along the Eastern Adriatic coast.

Key words: Herakleia, Pharos, Greeks, Illyrians, coins

Pseudo-Skilakov *Periplus* jedno je od ključnih vrela za poznavanje antičke plovidbe duž naše obale, kao i imena njezinih luka i otoka te pojedinih zajednica koje su ondje obitavale.¹ Za našu je temu značajno poglavlje 22: *Poslije Liburna je narod Ilira i nastavaju Iliri uz more do Haonije, koja je nasuprot Korkire, Alkinojeva otoka. I ovdje je helenski grad kojem je ime Herakleja i luka. Tu su i lotofazi nazvani barbari ovi: Hierastamni, Bulini, Hilini. Bulinima su susjedi Hili. Ovi kažu da ih je /tu/ naselio Hilo Heraklov /sin/; a oni su barbari. Nastavaju poluotok malo manji od Peloponeza. Nakon izlaska od poluotoka /plovi/ se ravno. Ovdje nastavaju Bulini. Bulini su ilirski narod. Plovidba uz zemlju Bulina traje duži dan do zaljeva NESTA.*

Profesor Suić je u svojoj raščlambi i tumačenju ovoga složenog teksta s dosta koruptela povezo Herakleju s područjem Haonije u današnjoj južnoj Albaniji. On smatra da je tekst o Herakleji kasniji umetak, što je teško potvrditi.

U starome je svijetu inače poznato 30 Herakleja, veće i manje važnosti. Pitanje naše Herakleje pojavilo se prije gotovo dva stoljeća, kada je 1835. kod sela Vrbanja, na položaju Škudljivac, oko 4 km istočno od Staroga Grada, mjesni težak našao posudu s brončanim novcima: 47 komada novca Herakleje, 57 Farosa, 55 prekova Farosa s Jonijem i još tri prekova Herakleje i Farosa, ukupno 162 primjerka. U ovoj se ostavi prelama sva složenost antičke numizmatike otoka Hvara. O njoj je prvi pisao *senex vere venerabilis* - časnii starac Petar Niziteo, kako ga je nazvao veliki Theodor Mommsen, koji ga je posjetio u njegovu domu u Starome Gradu godine 1852., kada je tražio i kolaudirao rimske latinske natpise za svoj monumentalni *Corpus*, što ga je po njegovoj zamisli pokrenula Pruska akademija u Berlinu. Niziteo je po majčinoj liniji bio nasljednik Petra Hektorovića, a u njegovu je domu boravio mladi Šime Ljubić, koji je ondje dobio poticaje za nastavljanje Niziteova djela. Niziteo je Mommsenu predao svoje crteže natpisa iz Salone, a imao je tada 78 godina.

O tom nalazu Niziteo je izvijestio u onodobnom vodećem dalmatinskom časopisu *Gazetta di Zara*, br. 47, 12. lipnja 1835., str. 185-187, te u brojevima 48 i 49. Kao poznati intelektualac onoga vremena i priznati prirodoslovac, Niziteo je tada ušao u arheologiju i numizmatiku. Pisao je stručnjacima u Rimu, Beču i drugdje, i oni su mu odgovorili da se vjerojatno radi o Herakleji Tauridskoj. Njega to nije uvjerilo, jer tip novca nije odgovarao krimskim novcima. Uporno je čitao stare pisce koji su pisali o našoj obali i došao do spomenutog podatka o Herakleji kod Pseudo-Skilaka. Niziteo je tu naseobinu smjestio na mjestu antičkog Praetoriuma blizu Rogoznice, čije su ranije ostatke brisali kasniji Rimljani.

Tako je Niziteo, u svome plemenitom nastojanju traženja rješenja za pitanje naše Herakleje, anticipirao kontroverze, koje traju do naših dana, pa evo i ja pišem svoju treću raspravu o toj temi. Zahvaljujući svojim otkrićima i brojnim tekstovima, Niziteo je postao članom Arheološkog instituta u Rimu i Središnje komisije za čuvanje spomenika u Beču. Na Kukuljevićev prijedlog izabran je za člana *Društva za povijestnicu i starine jugoslavenske*. Pisao je na talijanskom, jer su škole bile samo na tom jeziku, ali je izraziti

The *Periplus* of the Pseudo-Scylax is one of the key sources of knowledge on navigation all along the Croatian coast during Antiquity, and it also provides names of the harbours and islands and the communities that lived there.¹ For the purpose of this paper, Chapter 22 is significant: "And after Liburnians are the Illyrian nation, and the Illyrians live along beside the sea as far as Chaonia by Kerkyra, the island of Alkinoös. And there is a Hellenic city here, which has the name Herakleia, with a harbour. Here the lotus-eaters called barbarians are: Hierastamnai, Bylliones, Hyllini. The Bylliones are neighbours of the Hyllini. And these say Hyllus son of Heracles settled them; and they are barbarians. And they occupy a peninsula a little smaller than the Peloponnese. After departing from the peninsula, one navigates straight. The Bylliones live here. The Bylliones are an Illyrian people. The voyage adjacent to the territory of the Bylliones lasts a long day up to the Bay of Nestos".

In his analysis and interpretation of this complex text with many corruptions, Professor Suić associated Herakleia with the territory of Chaonia in today's Southern Albania. He believed that the text on Herakleia was inserted later, which is difficult to confirm.

Otherwise, thirty Herakleias of greater or lesser importance are known to have existed in the ancient world. The question of the Herakleia under consideration here appeared almost two centuries ago, when, in 1835, a field labourer found a jar full of bronze coins near the village of Vrbanje, at the Škudljivac site approximately 4 km east of Stari Grad. The jar contained 47 Herakleia coins, 57 Pharos coins, 55 re-mints of Pharos coins with Ionius and three more re-mints of Herakleia and Pharos, for a total of 162 coins. This hoard contains a cross-section of Antique numismatics on the island of Hvar in all of its complexity. The first to write about it was the *senex vere venerabilis* - 'venerable old man' - Petar Niziteo, as he was called by the great Theodor Mommsen, who visited him in his home in Stari Grad in 1852, when he was seeking out and approving Roman Latin inscriptions for his monumental *Corpus*, which was initiated by the Prussian Academy in Berlin at his behest. Niziteo was a descendent of Petar Hektorović on his mother's side, and the young Šime Ljubić had spent time in his home, where he was inspired to continue Niziteo's work. Niziteo, then aged 78, gave Mommsen his sketches of inscriptions from Salona.

Niziteo reported on this discovery in the then leading Dalmatian periodical *Gazetta di Zara*, no. 47, 12 June 1835, pp. 185-187, and in issues 48 and 49. As a renowned intellectual of the time and a respected scholar of natural history, Niziteo then became immersed in archaeology and numismatics. He corresponded with experts in Rome, Vienna, and elsewhere, and they told him that it was probably the Taurian Herakleia. He was not convinced, because the type of coin did not correspond to Crimean coins. He persistently read the works of ancient writers who discussed the Croatian coast and thus came to the aforementioned reference to Herakleia made by Pseudo-Scylax. Niziteo located this settlement at the site of ancient Praetorium, near Rogoznica, the earlier traces of which were erased by the later Romans.

1 Suić 1955, str. 121-128.

1 Suić 1955, pp. 121-128.

hrvatski patriot, što je i prirodno za potomka pjesnika Hektorovića.² Niziteo je vodio višegodišnje dopisivanje s drugim zaslužnim polihistorom na Korčuli, Matijom Kaporom, od 1835. do Kaporove smrti godine 1849. U njihovim pismima ima vrijednih arheoloških podataka, pa i o ovim novcima i natpisima. Zasluga je Vida Vuletića Vukasovića što je ta korespondencija objavljena: *Corrispondenza archeologica fra Matteo Capor da Curzola e Pietro Nisiteo da Cittavecchia, publicita per cura di Vid Vuletić Vukasović*, Zara, Premiata Tipografia Pietro Janković, 1897, str. XVIII, 26 i passim. Bilo bi dobro prevesti ovu knjižicu i tako je 'oživjeti', jer po svojim brojnim podacima može i danas biti korisna. Tako na primjer u pismu broj XV. nalazimo rješenje sudbine poznatoga viškog natpisa Gaja Valija Festa koji je posadio vinograd i tom prilikom žrtvovao bika (CIL III 6432 Zlopolje, Vis). Obavljajući reviziju pojedinih natpisa za Akademijin Odbor za natpise i *Corpus*, prof. B. Gabričević pošao je u Hvar, u palaču Vukašinović Dojmi (Lupi), gdje ga je Mommsen zabilježio, ali ondje natpisa nije bilo. Bilo je to šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća. Sudbinu natpisa objasnio je P. Niziteo u svom pismu Kaporu 1838., što prevodim s talijanskoga: *Karamaneo veli da je iskopan u Zlopolju i da mu je to priopćio Nikola Jakša. Bio je /natpis/ uzidan u zidu kuće Lupi u Hvaru, a nasljednik Lupija je nedavno razbio zid, te razbio ploču natpisa u komade, te ona više ne postoji. Uistinu šteta tog jedinstvenoga natpisa; Lupi očito nije znao latinski ili su ploču zidari naprosto razbili. U pismima nalazimo i niz podataka o drugim natpisima s naših otoka i drugih lokacija.*

Postoji nekoliko mišljenja o ubikaciji Herakleje, što ih je registrirao Suić.³ Začuđuje što Suić nije uzeo u obzir mišljenje (ili ga je previdio) koje je iznio već J. Brunšmid u svojoj klasičnoj studiji: *Die Inschriften und Münzen der griechischen Städte Dalmatiens*, gdje je ovaj u uvodnom tekstu o novcu Herakleje ustvrdio: *Die Existenz des illyrischen Herakleia des Skylax (§ 22) wird durch zwei Münzsorten deren Vertreter in den dalmatinischen Küstengegen häufig gefunden werden, anderwärts aber kaum vorkommensuchergestellt. Es muss vorläufig dahingestellt bleiben, ob die Stadt wirklich auf Pharos wie vielfach wegen der häufigen Funde ihrer Münzen auf der Insel Lesina angenommen wird, lag; weit davon wird sie aber schwerlich zu suchen sein. Die Münzen von Herakleia gehören dem vierten Jahrhunderte an . . . Im dritten Jahrhunderte begehen wir keinen Münzen des illyrischer Herakleia mehr; es ist also sehr wahrscheinlich, dass es zu dieser Zeit als griechischen Gemeinwesen nicht mehr bestanden hat. - Postojanje Skilakove (§ 22) ilirske Herakleje utvrđeno je na temelju dvije vrste novca, koje se u velikoj količini nalaze na dalmatinskoj obali, a drugdje se jedva pojavljuju. Za sada treba utvrditi je li grad zaista bio na Pharosu, što bi se možda moglo zaključiti zbog velike količine njegovog novca nađenog na Hvaru; no daleko odatle je ne treba tražiti. Novac Herakleje pripada 4. stoljeću. . . . U 3. stoljeću više nema heraklejskog novca, pa je najvjerojatnije da tada ove grčke zajednice više nije bilo.⁴*

Thus Niziteo, in his noble attempts to find a solution to the question of this Herakleia, anticipated the subsequent controversies which continue to this day, so that even this author is already writing his third discussion of the topic. Thanks to his discoveries and numerous texts, Niziteo became a member of the Archaeology Institute in Rome and the Central Commission on the Preservation of Monuments in Vienna. At the proposal of Ivan Kukuljević, he became a member of the Society of Yugoslav History and Antiquities (*Društvo za povijestnicu i starine jugoslavenske*). He wrote in Italian, because schools at the time only offered instruction in this language, but he was a notable Croatian patriot, which is only a natural for a descendent of the poet Hektorović.² Niziteo corresponded for many years with another noteworthy polymath, Matija Kapor, who lived on the island of Korčula, from 1835 until Kapor's death in 1849. Their letters contain much valuable archaeological data, including information on these coins and inscriptions. Vid Vuletić Vukasović deserves credit for publishing this correspondence (*Corrispondenza archeologica fra Matteo Capor da Curzola e Pietro Nisiteo da Cittavecchia, publicita per cura di Vid Vuletić Vukasović*, Zara: Premiata Tipografia Pietro Janković, 1897, p. XVIII, 26 and *passim*). It would be worthwhile to translate this booklet and thus 'revive' it, for it may be useful even today with its numerous data. Thus, for example, in letter number XV, there is a solution to the fate of the well-known inscription from Vis by Gaius Valius Festus, who planted a vineyard and sacrificed a bull for the occasion (CIL III 6432 Zlopolje, Vis). In publishing his revision of individual inscriptions for the Academy's Inscription Committee and *Corpus*, Prof. B. Gabričević went to Hvar, to the Vukašinović Dojmi (Lupi) Manor, where Mommsen had recorded it, but the inscription was not there. This was in the 1960s. The fate of the inscription was explained by P. Niziteo in his letter to Kapor in 1838 (in translation): "Karamaneo says it was excavated in Zlopolje and that Nikola Jakša told him of this. It [the inscription] was built into the wall of the Lupi house in Hvar, and Lupi's heir recently tore the wall down, and broke the inscription slab into pieces, so it no longer exists". The fate of this unique inscription is truly a pity; Lupi obviously did not understand Latin, or perhaps the masons simply broke the slab. This correspondence also contains a series of data on other inscriptions from Croatia's islands and other sites.

There are several opinions on the precise location of Herakleia, which have been registered by Suić.³ It is odd that Suić did not consider (or perhaps he overlooked) the opinion already expressed by J. Brunšmid in his classic study: *Die Inschriften und Münzen der griechischen Städte Dalmatiens*, where the latter stated the following of the Herakleia coins in his introductory text: "Die Existenz des illyrischen Herakleia des Skylax (§ 22) wird durch zwei Münzsorten deren Vertreter in den dalmatinischen Küstengegen häufig gefunden werden, anderwärts aber kaum vorkommensuchergestellt. Es muss vorläufig dahingestellt bleiben, ob die Stadt wirklich auf Pharos wie vielfach wegen der häufigen Funde ihrer Münzen auf der Insel Lesina

2 Nikolanci 1977, str. 199-203.

3 Suić 1955, str. 142.

4 Brunšmid 1898, str. 54; Brunšmid 1998, str. 66.

2 Nikolanci 1977, pp. 199-203.

3 Suić 1955, p. 142.

Kao Hvaranin, potaknut ovim mišljenjima, a polazeći od logike velikog znanstvenika i arheologa Josipa Brunšmida, rođenog u Vinkovcima, gradu davne prošlosti, od neolitika do antičkih Cibala, zainteresirao sam se za ovu temu. Brunšmid je bio vrsni bečki student i zasluga je drugoga našeg velikana, Isidora Kršnjavoga, što ga je, kao hrvatski ministar za bogoštovlje i nastavu, godine 1896. postavio za prvoga profesora na novoosnovanom studiju arheologije i povijesti umjetnosti na Mudroslovnom (Filozofskom) fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Jedan sam od njegovih nasljednika, šesti po redu nakon V. Hoffllera, M. Šepera, B. Gabričevića, D. Rendića Miočevića. Na antičkoj katedri proveo sam više od 40 godina (1957.-2000.), od asistenta do redovnog profesora 1978. Brunšmid je logično zaključio da brojni nalazi nekih novaca određuju i kovnicu tih novaca na tome području, a to je u ovome slučaju otok Hvar. Začuduje je da je ovo njegovo mišljenje ostalo izvan pažnje naših stručnjaka, koji su Herakleju tražili na drugim mjestima. Na neki sam način htio ispraviti to njegovo izostavljanje, pa sam 1990. napisao raspravu *Heraclea Pharia*, koju je objavio, bez primjedaba i izmjena, Rendić Miočević u *Vjesniku Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*.⁵ U njoj sam nastojao izložiti povijest problema te sam raščlanio arheološku situaciju Hvara i Stari Grada. Nalazeći se na izduženom otoku i razdvojena visokim brdskim lancem, ta su dva mjesta uvijek, a pogotovo u antici i ranije, funkcionirala kao dvije odvojene zemljopisne cjeline. Stari Grad, antički Faros, utemeljen je kao agrarna naseobina parskih kolonista 385./384. pr. Kr. Naselje na mjestu grada Hvara imalo je naglašeniju pomorsku ulogu, jer se kao poželjna luka nalazilo na glavnom pomorskom putu duž naše obale. O tome svjedoče arheološki lokaliteti i brojni nalazi, od starijeg neolitika do antike i naših dana. Ne bih sve ovdje ponavljao, jer sam u raspravi to prikazao s uvidom u literaturu i aparatom bilješki, nastojeći objasniti problem u njegovim realnim povijesnim i arheološkim okvirima; stoga zainteresirane upućujem na tu svoju raspravu, koja je pretiskana i u mojoj knjizi *Od Helena do Hrvata*.⁶ Kako je rasprava izvorno objavljena u našem 'sjevernom' časopisu, možda više usmjerenom nekim srednjoeuropskim i drugim područjima, smatrao sam da bi, kako je tema iz područja što ga od svojih početaka brojnim raspravama i tekstovima prati naš časni *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku*, bilo korisno objaviti u njemu sažetiju verziju rasprave, s nekim novim elementima. Tim više što je ugledni časopis usmjeren znanstvenoj i kulturnoj javnosti kojoj je i ova tema bliža.⁷ Raspravu je zabilježio i M. Suić, s primjedbom da sam Herakleju smjestio na mjestu grada Hvara. Numizmatičar B. Mimica ju je također registrirao, ne izjašnjavajući se o pitanju, podvukavši Brunšmidovo mišljenje da je treba tražiti na Hvaru.⁸

angenommen wird, lag; weit davon wird sie aber schwerlich zu suchen sein. Die Münzen von Herakleia gehören dem vierten Jahrhunderte an. ... Im dritten Jahrhunderte begegen wir keinen Münzen des illyrischer Herakleia mehr; es ist also sehr wahrscheinlich, dass es zu dieser Zeit als griechischen Gemeinwesen nicht mehr bestanden hat." ("The existence of the Illyrian Herakleia of Scylax (§ 22) was ascertained on the basis of two types of coins which were found on the Dalmatian coast in great quantity, while they scarcely appear elsewhere. At this point, it is important to establish whether the city was truly on Pharos, which may be concluded because of the large quantity of these coins found on Hvar; but it should not be sought much farther afield than that. The coins of Herakleia belong to the fourth century. ... In the third century there was no longer any Herakleia coins, so it is very likely that by that point this Greek community no longer existed.")⁴

Prompted by these considerations as a native of Hvar, and following the logic of the great scholar and archaeologist Josip Brunšmid (who was born in Vinkovci, a city with a long history, from the Neolithic to Roman-era Cibale), I took an interest in this topic. Brunšmid was an exemplary Viennese student, and thanks to another great Croatian notable, Isidor Kršnjavi, then the Croatian minister of religion and instruction, in 1896 he was appointed a professor at the newly-established archaeology and art history department at the Faculty of Philosophy (Arts and Letters) of the University of Zagreb. I am one of his successors, the sixth in line after V. Hoffiller, M. Šeper, B. Gabričević, and D. Rendić Miočević. I spent forty years (1957-2000) at the Antiquity section, from lecturer to full professor in 1978. Brunšmid logically concluded that numerous finds of certain coins indicate a mint for these coins in the region, and in this case it means the island of Hvar. It is unusual that his opinion here escaped the attention of Croatian experts, who sought Herakleia's location elsewhere. In a way, I wanted to correct this failure to notice Brunšmid, so in 1990 I wrote the discourse *Heraclea Pharia*, which was published, without criticism or alteration, by Rendić Miočević in the bulletin of Zagreb's Archaeological Museum, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*.⁵ In it, I attempted to present the history of the problem, and I broke down the archaeological situation of Hvar and Stari Grad. Located on an elongated island and divided by a high range of hills, these two settlements always - especially during Antiquity and earlier - functioned as two separate geographic units. Stari Grad, called Pharos in Antiquity, was founded as an agrarian settlement of colonists from Paros in 385/384 BC. The settlement at the site of the town of Hvar had a maritime role that was much more greatly emphasized, for as a desirable harbour it was situated on the principal maritime route along the Croatian coast. This is proven by archaeological sites and numerous discoveries from the Early Neolithic through Antiquity to the present day. I have no intention of repeating all of this here, for in that previous discussion I presented these facts together with a review of the relevant literature and notations, attempting to explain the problem within its realistic and archaeological framework; therefore,

5 Zaninović 1991-1992.

6 Zaninović 1996.

7 Zahvalan sam cijenjenom uredništvu *Vjesnika za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* na čelu s poštovanom glavnom urednicom mr. sc. Zrinkom Buljević, što je prihvatilo ovaj prilog.

8 Mimica 2003, str. 5-7.

4 Brunšmid 1898, p. 54; Brunšmid 1998.

5 Zaninović 1991-1992.

Tekst iz Pseudo-Skilakova *Periplusa* filolozi su datirali poslije sirakuške dominacije Jadranom, od 398.-344. pr. Kr.⁹ To je vrijeme postsirakuške, političke i strateške, neravnoteže u ovome dijelu Jadrana. Pojavljuje se nova vojnička i politička konstelacija, obilježena dolaskom Ardijejaca na Jadran. Nakon što su ih porazili Kelti 359./358. pr. Kr., kako nam je zabilježio Teopomp u 21. knjizi svojih *Filipika*, sišli su na Jadran i zaposjeli obalu oko ušća Neretve do Skodre na jugu. Ovdašnji Grci morali su osjetiti njihov dolazak, a pogotovo Faros i otok Hvar, kojem je istočni završetak blizu kopna i ušća Neretve, a više nije bilo sirakuške zaštite.¹⁰

Nova povijesna situacija navela je današnje auktere da ostavu iz Škudljivca datiraju u rasponu od sredine do kraja 4. st. pr. Kr.¹¹ Danas ima oko 360 primjeraka novca Herakleje, nađenih uglavnom na otoku Hvaru, s ponekim primjerkom na drugim otocima i na obali. Pošavši od tvrdnje prof. Grga Novaka u njegovu članku *Dimos i Herakleja*¹² te broja zbirke na otoku, ustvrdio sam da se veći dio tog novca našao u gradu Hvaru i oko njega. Zbirke su imale obitelji Boglić, Machiedo, Bučić, Marchi i možda još poneka. Ovu je tvrdnju osporio kolega B. Kirigin,¹³ koji donosi pregled novca sa 147 komada u Starome Gradu i 49 u gradu Hvaru. Iz njegova teksta i navoda nisam mogao utvrditi da je baš tako. On navodi i tvrdnju Šime Ljubića kako su neki primjerci ovog novca *prešli u Hvar u ruke g. Jerolima Machieda i drugih*. Moram ukazati da je vrijeme kada je Ljubić ovo pisao, godine 1873., bilo vrijeme njegovih polemika s Hvaranima o smještaju Farosa, o čemu su se sporili. Ljubić je, kao mlađi stručnjak, a i inače, bio po naravi impulzivan čovjek, te je svoje suotočane u Hvaru častio ponekim nazivima koje ne bih od njega očekivao. Bio je takav i što možemo, a zbog njegovih tolikih zasluga rado mu opraštamo. Spomenut ću usput, kao kuriozitet, da sam njegovu knjigu osobno preveo, a došla je do mene jer se u Zagrebu nitko nije htio gnjaviti s višejezičnošću knjige *Faria, Città Vecchia e non Lesina - Pietro Hektorović Cittavecchiano e non Lesignano*, Zagabria, 1873. Donijela mi ju je s tom tvrdnjom gđa prof. Anuška Nakić iz *Školske knjige* i molbom da je prevedem, što sam kao Hvaranin i arheolog rado učinio. Prijevod je objavio Centar za kulturu Općine Stari Grad 1996., u svojoj *Biblioteci Baščina*. S obzirom na takva njegova stajališta, i inače uzimam s rezervom Ljubićevu tvrdnju da su Hvarani kupovali novce u Starome Gradu. Sve su te obitelji imale svoje hvarske posjede i njihovi su im težaci donosili za nagradu ono što bi našli. Šime Marchi je pak bio građevinski poduzetnik i sakupljač nalaza. Osim toga, u to je vrijeme, kao i stoljećima ranije, Hvar odvajao od Staroga Grada visoki brdski

those who are interested may consult this discussion, which was re-printed in book *Od Helena do Hrvata* ('From Helen to the Croats').⁶ Since this work was originally published in a 'Northern Croatian' journal, which is perhaps more greatly oriented toward certain Central European and other areas, I felt that since this is a topic in a field that has been covered in numerous discussions and texts by our honourable *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* since its very beginnings, it would be useful to publish a more concise version of the discussion in it with some new elements. All the more so since this respected journal is dedicated to a scholarly and cultural public with an affinity for themes such as this.⁷ This discussion was also noted by M. Suić, with the comment that I had located Herakleia at the site of today's town of Hvar. Numismatist B. Mimica also registered it, without taking a stance on the question, only underscoring Brunšmid's view that it should be sought on the island of Hvar.⁸

The text of the *Periplus* by Pseudo-Scylax has been dated by philologists to the time after the Syracusan domination of the Adriatic, from 398 to 344 BC.⁹ This was a time of post-Syracusan political and strategic imbalance in this part of the Adriatic. A new military and political milieu appeared, marked by the arrival of the Ardiaei on the Adriatic. After they were defeated by the Celts in 359/358 BC, as Theopompus wrote in the twenty-first book of his *Philippica*, they moved down to the Adriatic and occupied the coast around the mouth of the Neretva River to Shkodër in the south. The local Greeks must have felt their arrival, particularly in Pharos and on the island of Hvar, which as its eastern end is close to the mainland and the mouth of the Neretva, and there was no longer any Syracusan protection.¹⁰

This new historical situation has led contemporary authors to date the Škudljivac hoard from the mid- to late fourth century BC.¹¹ Today there are approximately 360 examples of Herakleia coins, mostly found on the island of Hvar, with several examples found on other islands and on the coast. Moving forward from the assertions made by Prof. Grga Novak in his article "Dimos i Herakleja",¹² and the number of collections on the island, I have ascertained that most of the coins were found either in or around the town of Hvar. Collections were held by the Boglić, Machiedo, Bučić and Marchi families, and perhaps several others. This assertion was disputed by my colleague B. Kirigin,¹³ who provided an overview of the coins, with 147 in Stari Grad and 49 in the

9 Gisinger 1927, col. 645; Gisinger 1927, col. 662-687; Suić 1955, str. 149; Zaninović 1992, str. 37.

10 Zaninović 1992, str. 103-115. Zaninović 2001, str. 57-63.

11 Brunšmid 1898, str. 54; Rendić Miočević 1970, str. 347-376; Vidi i druge numizmatičke rasprave prof. Rendića Miočevića 1989, str. 229-409 i *passim*; Bonačić Mandinić 1988, str. 68, bilj. 7; Gorini 1982, str. 141-146; Gorini 1999, str. 148-150; Visonà 1982, str. 681; Mirnik 1981, str. 34.

12 Novak 1924.

13 Kirigin 1999, str. 148-150; Kirigin 2004, str. 89, 90.

6 Zaninović 1996.

7 I would like to thank the esteemed editorial board of *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku*, headed by its editor-in-chief Zrinka Buljević, M.S., for accepting this contribution.

8 Mimica 2003, pp. 5-7.

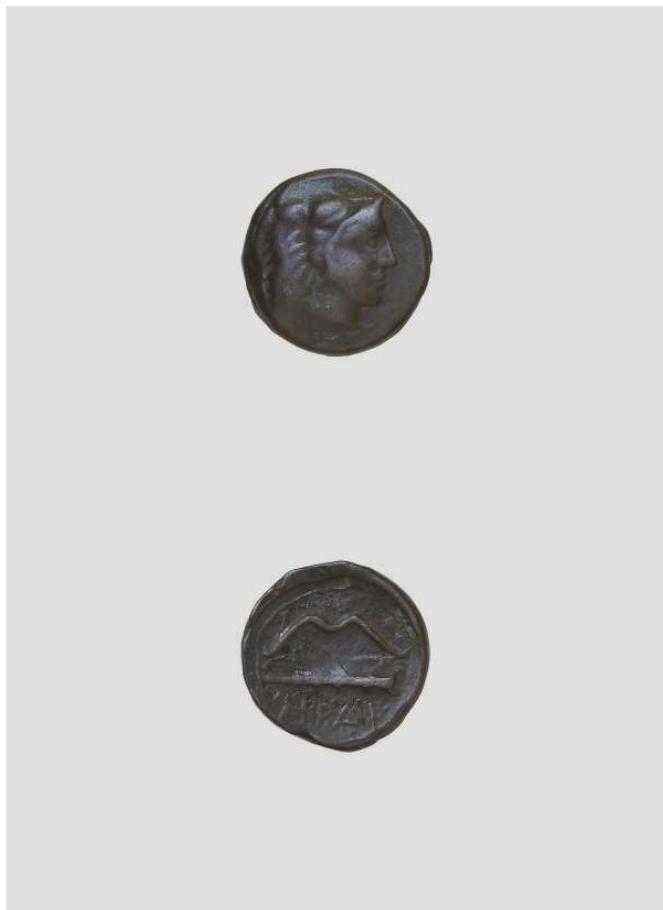
9 Gisinger 1927, col. 645; Gisinger 1927, col. 662-687; Suić 1955, p. 149; Zaninović 1992, p. 37.

10 Zaninović 1992, pp. 103-115. Zaninović 2001, pp. 57-63.

11 Brunšmid 1898, p. 54; Rendić Miočević 1970, p. 347-376; See also the other numismatic discussions by Prof. Rendić Miočević 1989, pp. 229-409 and *passim*; Bonačić Mandinić 1988, p. 68, note 7; Gorini 1982, pp. 141-146; Gorini 1999, pp. 148-150; Visonà 1982, pp. 681; Mirnik 1981, p. 34.

12 Novak 1924.

13 Kirigin 1999, pp. 148-150; Kirigin 2004, pp. 89, 90.



Slika 1.
Brončani novac Herakleje, 4. st. pr.
Kr. (AMS inv. 2837)
(foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Figure 1.
Bronze coins of Herakleia, 4th
cent. BC (AMS inv. 2837)
(photo: Z. Alajbeg)

lanac i trebalo je 4-5 sati hoda ili pak jahanja na mulama kako bi se prešlo taj brdski poljski put. A i morem je trebalo 3-4 sata, ovisno o vremenu i polazištu, iz Hvara ili iz uvale Vira na sjevernoj strani otoka. Međutim, taj različiti broj nalaza novca zapravo i nije bitan. U vrijeme kovanja novca Herakleje djeluje i kovnica Farosa, koja je nastala desetljećima prije Herakleje, kao što je i nadživjela heraklejsku kovnicu za nekoliko desetljeća. Štoviše, prisutnost heraklejskog novca u području Farosa svjedočila bi o svojevrsnoj prevazi Herakleje nad Farosom u određenom povijesnom razdoblju ili pak o normalnoj trgovačkoj ili nekoj drugoj interferenciji.

Moram priznati da me pomalo čudi kako kolegi Kiriginu, kao Hvaraninu, toliko smeta hipoteza o postojanju Herakleje na mjestu grada Hvara. Je li to samo moja teza, ili ja osobno, ili nešto drugo, to može on odgovoriti, no svatko ima pravo na svoje mišljenje.

Nadalje, on tvrdi da je suvišan moj argument *izvrstan položaj hvarske luke na dužadranskom putu*. To sam naveo kao notornu činjenicu od prvih ljudskih tragova na otoku, koja vrijedi i danas. Takav položaj višestruko je koristan za onoga tko vlada gradom i lukom, jer je to trajan izvor lučkoga prihoda od prometa lađa, koje moraju ovuda proći. Arheološka slika Hvara i okolice s brojnim ostacima od mlađeg kamenog doba, preko brončanog i željeznog doba i kroz čitavu antiku i kasnije, dobro je poznata i Kiriginu i

town of Hvar. I could not confirm whether this was actually the case on the basis of his text and assertions. He also cited the statement by Šime Ljubić that some examples of these coins "were taken to Hvar by Mr. Jerolim Machiedo and others". I must observe that at the time when Ljubić wrote this, in 1873, he was engaged in polemics with the natives of Hvar on the location of Pharos, on which there was some dispute. As a young expert and otherwise, Ljubić was impulsive by nature, and he even 'honoured' his fellow islanders on Hvar with a few epithets that one would not expect of him. He was who he was and little more can be said on the matter, but we gladly forgive him thanks to his many great contributions. I will mention here, as a curiosity, that I translated his book personally, and it came to me in Zagreb because nobody else wished to trouble themselves with the multilingualism of the book *Faria, Città Vecchia e non Lesina - Pietro Hektorović Cittavecchiano e non Lesignano*, Zagabria, 1873. It was proposed to me with this assertion by Prof. Anuška Nakić from the publisher *Školska knjiga* and with the request that I translate it, which as a Hvar native and archaeologist I gladly did. The translation was published by the Stari Grad Municipal Culture Centre in 1996, in their series *Biblioteca Baščina*. Given his standpoints, I take Ljubić's claims that people from Hvar purchased coins in Stari Grad with some reserve. All of these families had their estates on Hvar, and their labourers brought them whatever they had found in exchange for rewards. Šime Marchi was a construction contractor and a collector of such items. Besides this, at that time, as in centuries past, Hvar was separated from Stari Grad by a high range of hills, and it took 4 to 5 hours on foot or mule-back to negotiate the trail over the hills. And it also took 3 to 4 hours by sea, depending on the time of departure from Hvar or Vira Cove on the northern side of the island. However, this differing number of coins is not important. At the time when the Herakleia coins were minted, a mint also operated in Pharos, which was established decades prior to Herakleia, just as it outlived the Herakleia mint by several decades. Moreover, the presence of Herakleia coins in the territory of Pharos would seem to indicate something of a predominance of Herakleia over Pharos during a certain historical period or normal mercantile or other interference.

I must admit that I am slightly astounded that my colleague Kirigin, who is also from Hvar, is so troubled by the hypothesis on the existence of Herakleia at the site of today's town of Hvar. Whether it is a matter of my hypothesis, or myself personally, or something else, only he can answer, but everyone is entitled to their opinion.

Furthermore, he claims that my argument on the "excellent position of the harbour of Hvar on the longitudinal Adriatic route" is superfluous. I cited this as a well-known fact from the first traces of human life on the island, which applies to this day. This position is multiply beneficial to anyone who administers the town and the harbour, for it is a constant source of port revenues from passing barge transit. The archaeological picture of Hvar and its environs, with numerous remains from the later Stone Age, through the Bronze and Iron Ages and throughout Antiquity and later, is well known to both Kirigin and myself. I stressed the existence of a key hillfort above the town of Hvar and its harbour, as well as another, higher, more easterly one which I personally discovered in 1990. There are also numerous tumuli from Vira and the Pakleni Islands to the villages of Brusje and Velo Grablje; I have written about all of

meni. Ja sam istaknuo postojanje ključne gradine nad gradom Hvarom i lukom, kao i drugu, višu, istočniju, koju sam osobno otkrio godine 1990. Tu su zatim brojni tumuli od Vire i Paklinskih otoka do selâ Brusja i Veloga Grablja; o svemu sam tome pisao u nekoliko navrata. Kirigin mi zamjera što sam spomenuo nalaz apulske keramike, koju sam bio našao 1968. ispod zapadne kule hvarske tvrđave. Spomenuo sam ga u kontekstu trajne važnosti hvarske luke, o čemu svjedoči ovaj ulomak iz 8. stoljeća pr. Kr., kako ga je datirao kolega N. Petrić, koji je objavio i druge ovakve ulomke s Hvara i obale. Da je dakle taj promet ovuda bio trajan fenomen, potvrđuju brojni arheološki nalazi i antički tekstovi.

Jesu li Grci s Parosa prije dolaska u Faros pregovarali sa stanovnicima hvarske gradine i luke, ne znamo. Dvojim o tome, jer su oni došli pod zaštitom Dionizija Sirakuškoga, tada najmoćnijeg vladara ovoga dijela Sredozemlja, pa im nije trebalo dopuštenje stanovnika Hvara. Osim toga, naselje koje su odabrali bilo je dovoljno daleko za ono vrijeme, bili su dovoljni sami sebi i nisu morali smetati jedni drugima. Imali su dovoljno i zemlje i mora, a tu je bila i sirakuška vlast i kontrola Jadrana. Druga je priča nestanak te vlasti te dolazak i jačanje Ardiiejaca. To je nova povijesna situacija, koja se, uostalom, prema većini mišljenja, i odražava u spomenutoj ostavi kod Škudljivca i drugim popratnim pojavama, od prekova novčanih emisija i drugih zbivanja, za koja i ne znamo, a zasigurno ih je bilo u nemirnim vremenima bez čvrste vlasti i prepuštenosti tih, ipak manjih zajednica samima sebi.

Novci i natpisi u Hvaru samo potvrđuju njegov miješani ilirsko-grčki status. O tom svjedoče i druge emisije novca u Hvaru i na otoku, koje su i danas povijesni i arheološki problem, ali potvrđuju značenje Hvara i njegove luke i u tom vremenu.

Zašto bi jedno ovako miješano naselje dalo sebi grčko ime, pita me Kirigin. Pa radi se valjda o specifičnom trenutku hvarske povijesti, kada je neka organizirana skupina mogla to naselje i luku nazvati imenom Herakleje. Pseudo-Skilak donosi da su susjedi Bulina Hili, koji za sebe kažu da ih je ondje naselio Hilo, Heraklov sin. Postoji dakle predaja o Heraklu u ovim krajevima. To su stare predaje, koje su donosili već mikenski i grčki pomorci od Rođana (Diomed) do Korinćana. O tome u kojoj su mjeri mitovi dio helenske ideologije povezane s njihovom kolonizacijom, opsežno je pisao Jean Bérard u svojem klasičnom djelu *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité. L'histoire et la légende*.¹⁴ Dio desetog poglavlja posvetio je problemu podrijetla Heraklove legende u Italiji. Njegove ideje razrađuje u svojim tekstovima L. Braccesi.¹⁵ Kirigin me poučava kako su se i Trogir i Zadar mogli nazvati Heraklejom, jer je i ondje nađena apulska keramika. Točno, apulske keramike ima, ali nema novca Herakleje, pa je ta primjedba suvišna. Uostalom, i imena su u ovoj prošlosti imala svoje mijene i svoju povijest. Hvar je na primjer bio Faros, a na njemu su bili i Anchiale, a zove se i Pitieja; i Paros se prije zvao Faros, kako je to zabilježio Strabon (VII, 5). Brač

these aspects on several occasions. Kirigin faults me for mentioning the discovery of Apulian pottery, which I found in 1968 under the western tower of Hvar's fortress. I had mentioned it in the context of the ongoing importance of Hvar's harbour, which is proven by this fragment from the eighth century BC, as dated by my colleague N. Petrić, who published other such fragments from Hvar and the coast. That this item was a permanent phenomenon here is confirmed by numerous archaeological discoveries and Classical texts.

Whether or not the Greeks from Paros, prior to arriving at Pharos, negotiated with the residents of the Hvar hillfort and harbour is not known. I doubt this, because they came under the protection of Dionysius of Syracuse, then the most powerful ruler in this part of the Mediterranean, so they did not require the permission of the residents of Hvar. Besides, the settlement that they chose was sufficiently distant for that time, they were sufficiently isolated and they did not bother each other. They had enough land and sea, and there was also Syracusan authority and control of the Adriatic. Another story was opened by the disappearance of this authority and the arrival and strengthening of the Ardiaei. This was a new historical situation which, based on most views, was also reflected in the aforementioned hoard at Škudljivac and other related phenomena, from re-mints of coins and other events, of which we know nothing, although they certainly transpired in these restless times without firm authority and the abandonment of these nonetheless small communities to their own devices.

Coins and inscriptions in Hvar only confirm its mixed Illyrian-Greek status. This is also confirmed by other emissions of coins in Hvar and on the island, which are a historical and archaeological problem even today, but which confirm the importance of Hvar and its harbour even at that time.

Kirigin asked me why such a mixed settlement would adopt a Greek name. To answer, this was perhaps a specific moment in Hvar's history, when an organized group could have named this settlement and harbour Herakleia. Pseudo-Scylax recounts that the neighbours of the Bylliones are the Hyllini, who said of themselves that they were settled there by Hyllus, the son of Heracles. There is thus a legend of Heracles in this region. These are old legends, which were already recounted by Mycenaean and Greek mariners from Rhodians (Diomedes) to Corinthians. The extent to which myths were a part of the Hellenistic ideology tied to their colonization was exhaustively covered by Jean Bérard in his classic work *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité. L'histoire et la légende*.¹⁴ A part of his tenth chapter is dedicated to the problem of the origins of legends concerning Heracles in Italy. His ideas were refined by L. Braccesi.¹⁵ Kirigin instructs me that Trogir and Zadar may have been called Herakleia, for Apulian pottery had been found there as well. True, there is Apulian pottery, but there are no Herakleian coins, so that this comment is pointless. Besides, even names underwent changes and experienced their own histories in

14 Bérard 1957.

15 Braccesi 1994, str. 129-134.

14 Bérard 1957.

15 Braccesi 1994, pp. 129-134.

je bio Brattia, ali i Diskelad, kako to smatramo prema Aploniju Rodskome. Grčki otok Samos, u blizini maloazijske obale, imao je tri imena, a Paros čak četiri... Ima još takvih primjera. Zašto je to tako i kada i kako je to bilo, složena su pitanja na koja nemamo uvijek prave odgovore, jer povijest zna biti složena. Sjetimo se Dalmacije, koja je u antici obuhvaćala područje od Jadrana do Save, a povijest ju je svela na uzak pojas dijela jadranske obale. Osim toga, u tom nestalnom vremenu sredine 4. stoljeća na Hvaru nalazimo niz od nekoliko kovnica s uzajamnim prekovima, kao DI, DIM, Jonija, pa i farske i heraklejske emisije, o čemu raspravljamo i danas, pa je i ova rasprava o tome. Sve se to događa u vrijeme nakon pada sirakuške vlasti i traje nekih pola stoljeća, no i to je uvjetno rečeno. Na kraju, imamo i misterioznog Baleja, koji sebe na novcima naziva i *basileus* - kralj, a poznat je jedino po tim novcima, koje nalazimo na Hvaru i u Risnu, poneki primjerak i u Italiji i na našoj obali. Vjerojatno je bio rimski klijent, nakon pada ilirske države godine 167. pr. Kr., a dobar broj auktora daje mu sjedište u gradu Hvaru. Zaslužni pisac prve hvarske povijesti, tiskane 1873., don Jakov Boglić, bilježi 22 primjerka Balejeva novca nađena u vrtovima pod hvarskom tvrđavom. Veli da se čuvaju kod g. Jerolima Machieda (kako vidimo, nije ih kupio u Starome Gradu, kako je tvrdio Ljubić i sada tvrdi Kirigin). Heraklo je bio opći grčki narodni junak i zbog toga su i Herakleje bile brojne u starome svijetu, njih tridesetak na broju za koje znamo. Tradicije Heraklova kulta su prema Pseudo-Skilaku bile stare i na našem Hiličkom poluotoku i nema sumnje da su oživjele u vrijeme Dionizijeve prevlasti i zaposjedanja Isse, koja je zatim utemeljila Tragurij i Epetij. Dionizije je u sirakuškim kamenolomima, poznatim latomijama, i drugim kamenolomima oko Sirakuze izvukao jednu od najvećih količina kamena, što se može usporediti s faraonskim pothvatima. On je naime od 402. do 397. ogradio sirakuški poluotok Ortigiju i uzvišenja iznad grada veličanstvenom utvrdom Eurijalom, s bedemom u dužini od 27 kilometara, sa zidovima visokim od 7 do 10 metara, a u temeljima širokim i do 4 metra. Bio je to najveći fortifikacijski sustav takve vrste što ga je antika poznavala. Utvrde sličnih dimenzija gradio je u Europi tek dvije tisuće godina kasnije Sebastien Vauban (1633.-1707.), maršal i vojni inženjer Luja XIV. Kao i Dionizije, i Tragurijci su morali iskopati veliku količinu kamena za svoje zidove. Nema sumnje da su se koristili sirakuškim iskustvom i tehnologijom, a i vlastitim znanjem, pa su otvorili kamenolome blizu grada i nekoliko kilometara zapadnije, kod Segeta. Bio je to kvalitetan posao i kamen, jer je Plinije Stariji našao za shodno zabilježiti kako je *Tragurium marmore notum* - *Trogir poznat po kamenu* (Plin., *N. H.*, III 141), što je, naravski, odraz mnogo starije tradicije. U rimsko vrijeme u ovim su kamenolomima nađeni natpisi s posvetama Heraklu. Objavila ih je kolegica J. Jeličić-Radonić.¹⁶ Heraklove reljefe nalazimo i u kamenolomima na otoku Braču.

U razdoblju nestanka sirakuške vlasti bilo je zasigurno mnogo neželjenih situacija koje su proživljavali naši Grci i drugi stanovnici

this past. Hvar was, for example, Pharos, and on it was Anchialae, and it was also called Pityeia; even Paros was previously called Pharos, as Strabo noted (VII,5). Brač was Brattia, but also Disceladus, if we are to consider the views of Apollonius of Rhodes. The Greek island Samos, near the coast of Asia Minor, had three names, and Paros even had four ... And there are other such examples. Why, when and how this was so are complex questions to which there often are no genuine responses, because history can be complex. One has only to recall Dalmatia, which encompassed the territory from the Adriatic to the Sava River in Antiquity, but which was, during the course of history, reduced to a narrow belt of the Adriatic coast. Additionally, in this restless time in the mid-fourth century BC, a series of different mints with mutual re-mints can be found, such as DI, DIM, Ionia, and even Pharos and Herakleia emissions, which we are discussing now, so that this paper also deals with this matter. All of this occurred in the time after the fall of Syracuse and lasted for roughly a half-century, but even this is tentative. Ultimately, there is also the mysterious Balleus, who referred to himself on his coins as *basileus* - king, and he is only known on the basis of these coins, which were found on Hvar and in Risno, while a few were found in Italy and on the Croatian coast. He was probably a Roman client after the fall of the Illyrian state in 167 BC, and a goodly number of authors believe he had his seat in the town of Hvar. The noteworthy writer of the first history of Hvar, printed in 1873, Fr. Jakov Boglić, recorded 22 examples of the coins of Balleus found in the gardens in Hvar's fortress. He said they were held by Mr. Jerolim Machiedo (as we can see, he did not purchase them in Stari Grad, as Ljubić and now Kirigin claim). Heracles was a renowned Greek folk hero, and there were thus numerous places, approximately thirty that we know of, called Herakleia in the ancient world. According to Pseudo-Scylax, the traditions of Heracles's cult were old even on the Hyllus Peninsula in Croatia, and there can be no doubt that they were revived in the time of Dionysius's predominance and the occupation of Issa, which then established Tragurium and Epitium. Dionysius extracted one of the largest quantities of stone, which can be compared to the Pharaonic feats, from the Syracusan quarries, known as the latomy, and other quarries around Syracuse. From 402 to 397, he encircled the Syracusan peninsula of Ortygia and the heights above the city with the magnificent Euryalos Castle with a 27 km long bulwark, with walls that were 7 to 10 m high, set in foundations reaching widths of 4 m. This was the largest fortification network of the kind known in the ancient world. Fortifications of similar dimensions were constructed in Europe only two thousand years later by Sebastien Vauban (1633-1707), a marshal and military engineer under Louis XIV. Like Dionysius, the residents of Tragurium had to excavate a large quantity of stone for their walls. There can be no doubt that they made use of the Syracusan experience and technology, as well as their own expertise, so they opened quarries near the city and several kilometres to the west, at Seget. Both the work and stone were of high quality, for Pliny the Elder felt the need to record that *Tragurium marmore notum* - 'Trogir is known for its stone' (Plin., *N. H.*, III 141), which was, of course, a reflection of a much older tradition. During the Roman era, inscriptions dedicated to Heracles were

16 Jeličić 1981, str. 97-104.

ovih krajeva. Sjetimo se viškoga natpisa posvećenog Kaliji, koji je poginuo u borbi s *ilirskim muževima*. Karakteristična je i epizoda koju je zabilježio Livije (X, 2, 4), o spartanskom kondotjeru Kleonimu, koji je 302. napustio Brundizij i vjetar ga je odnio prema sredini Jadrana, gdje su mu prijetili *Iliri, Liburni i Histri, narodi surovi i uvelike na zlu glasu po zločinstvima na moru*. Zatim, tu su poslije upadi Delmata i pustošenje područja Tragurija i Epetija.

Ako je dakle bilo toga što znamo, a i onoga što ne znamo, onda možemo pretpostaviti da je neka skupina s Hiličkog poluotoka došla svojim sunarodnjacima na Hvar i ondje utemeljila Herakleju, nazvavši je po ocu svojega pretka Hila, kao što su Jadasinci prije toga došli u pomoć svojim sunarodnjacima u Farosu. To je, naravski, slobodna hipoteza, ali ništa nije nemoguće u nemirnome vremenu, kada se ne zna tko će koga, s tolikim prekovima i kovnicama tijekom nekih pola stoljeća ili malo više. Uostalom, neka organizirana skupina mogla je doći i nepozvana. Stotinjak naoružanih ljudi s desetak brodova moglo je ugrožavati svaku od ovih zajednica i uzeti vlast u političkom i strateškom vakuumu nakon pada Sirakuze i uspona Ardijejaca. Sjetimo se farsko-parskog dekreta na natpisu iz Staroga Grada, što ga je magistralno pročitao prof. Louis Robert, gdje piše kako je tek rimski Senat vratio Faranima *zakone otaca i zemlje koje su im bile oduzete*; radi se bez sumnje o lokalnim Ilirima ili onima s kopna. Isto su tako ugrožavali i Issu, ali ona je bila udaljenija od kopna i imala je jaču mornaricu, koja ju je uspješnije štitila. Naravski, sve se to događalo na marginama ondašnjega svijeta i koga je to brinulo ako nije diralo interese jačih. U tom slučaju nitko to nije zabilježio, pa nam tako ostaje samo novac pojedinih zajednica te keramički i drugi nalazi iz kojih, koliko možemo i ako možemo, rekonstruiramo što se otprilike događalo. Nadajmo se, dakle, nekim novim nalazima, koji će nam možda pomoći novim spoznajama u budućnosti, ali to je složen i težak posao u naseobinskim aglomeracijama, gdje staro pokriva novo nanosima i do 4 metra, kao u tzv. Hektorovićevoj palači u Hvaru, što je najsvježiji primjer. Osim toga, neprekidna poljoprivredna obrada tijekom tisućljeća također je uništila brojne arheološke lokalitete i ostatke.

Kirigin mi zamjera dataciju heraklejskih emisija u drugu polovinu 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. Ja sam samo prenio mišljenje ljudi koji o tome znaju ili su znali više od njega i mene, jer su to proučavali čitavog života. Pritom mislim u prvome redu na prof. D. Rendića Miočevića, prof. G. Gorinija iz Padove i druge, kao P. Visionu, M. Bonačić-Mandinić. Neka ponovno pročita njihove tekstove, pa ne bi mogao tvrditi da *numizmatičari donose datum prve polovine 4. stoljeća*. To ja nisam pronašao, iako bi to bilo lijepo, jer bi značilo da je Herakleja postojala skupa s Farosom, što je, koliko je za sada poznato, suprotno našim povijesnim i arheološkim spoznajama. Valjda bi ostao neki podatak u suvremenim sirakuškim i drugim onovremenim vrelima, kada bi Herakleja bila postojala u vrijeme Dionizijevih akcija na Jadranu, ali tada znamo samo za Faros i Issu. Iznesena su mišljenja o ubikaciji Herakleje na Korkiri, ali to je Korkira i ondje nema heraklejske kovnice. Farska je kovnica, koliko znamo, nadživjela heraklejsku do u 3. stoljeće, kada ju je zamijenio rimski republikanski novac.

found in these quarries. They were published by J. Jeličić-Radonić.¹⁶ Reliefs of Heracles can also be found in quarries on the island of Brač.

During the period when Syracusan authority began to wane, there must have certainly been inauspicious situations experienced by these Greeks and other residents of these regions. One only has to recall the inscription from Vis dedicated to Calia, who died in battle "with Illyrian warriors". Also typical is an episode recorded by Livy (X, 2, 4) on the Lacedaemonian Cleonymus, who departed from Brundisium in 302 and was carried by the winds toward the mid-Adriatic, where he was threatened by "Illyrians, Liburnians, and Istrians, nations of savages, and noted in general for piracy". This was followed by the incursions of the Delmati and the devastation of Tragurium and Epitium.

Thus, given what we do know and what we do not, we can assume that a group from the Hyllus Peninsula came to their fellow countrymen on Hvar and there established Herakleia, naming it after the father of their forefather Hyllus, just as the Jadas before that came to the aid of their countrymen on Pharos. This is, to be sure, a rather loose hypothesis, but nothing is impossible during times of unrest, when nobody knows who will go after whom, with so many re-mints and mints over a period of fifty - or slightly more - years. Besides, some organized group may simply have come uninvited. A hundred well-armed men with ten ships could have threatened any of these communities and assumed authority in this political and strategic vacuum after the fall of Syracuse and the rise of the Ardiaei. We only have to recall the Pharos-Paros decree in the inscription from Stari Grad, which was masterfully read by Prof. Louis Robert, and which says that only the Roman Senate returned to the people of Pharos "the laws of their fathers and the lands that had been taken from them"; this doubtless refers to the local Illyrians or those from the mainland. They threatened Issa in the same manner, but it was farther from the mainland and had a stronger navy, which protected it better. Of course, all of this transpired on the margins of the world of that time and it aroused little interest if it did not encroach upon the interests of the powerful. In this case nobody recorded it, so all that is left are the currencies of individual communities and pottery and other items which can be used, to the extent possible, to reconstruct what happened in broad outline. We still hope for some new discoveries which may help increase our knowledge in the future, but this is a complex and difficult task in inhabited agglomerations, where the old is covered with new deposits up to 4 m thick, as in the so-called Hektorović Palace in Hvar as the most recent example. Besides this, continual cultivation of the land over the centuries has also destroyed numerous archaeological sites and remains.

Kirigin criticizes my dating of the Herakleian emission to the latter half of the fourth century BC. I had only presented the views of persons who know or knew more than either he or I do, for they studied the matter their entire lives. First and foremost, I am referring to Prof. D. Rendić Miočević, Prof. G. Gorini from Padua and others, such as P. Visiona and M. Bonačić-Mandinić. He should re-read their texts, for then he would not be able to assert that "numismatists arrived at

16 Jeličić 1981, pp. 97-104.

Sve je svoje primjedbe Kirigin doslovce ponovio u svome tekstu *The Greeks in Central Dalmatia*, u publikaciji sa simpozija u Veneciji.¹⁷ U istoj je publikaciji i moja rasprava *La Dalmazia in età imperiale*. Odgovor na njegovu dataciju heraklejskog novca nalazi se upravo u raspravi prof. Gorinija u istoj publikaciji, trideset stranica dalje: *La presenza di moneta greca in Dalmazia*.¹⁸ Nakon što je raščlanio tipologiju naših novaca i njihove sirakuške uzore, Gorini piše da su emisije povezane s Dionizijem došle u Dalmaciju za njegova razdoblja, te spominje prekovne atenskih novaca, pa i Dionizijevih, koji se događaju nakon njegova pada, te nastavlja: *Pertanto una datazione all'età timolentea o post timolentea mi sembra ancora la più plausibile. A questa cronologia conduce anche il raffronto ponderale tra le emissioni bronzee timolentee e quelle adriatiche. Infatti alcuni esemplari, riconiati su stella marina (sirakuška M. Z.), sono vicini ad una dracma di 32 gr circa di peso, mentre la maggior parte delle emissioni sia delle serie anepigrafi, sia delle serie con legenda IONIOS, sia quelle di Pharos e di Heraclea sono tutte su di una media di 19/16 grammi palesando una uniformità ponderale e quindi cronologica* (podcrtao M. Z.), *visto che queste monete si trovano associate negli stressi ripostigli e pernanto dovettero circolare insieme come confermano i ripostigli di Lesina /Stari Grad/ e di Škudljivac il cui interramento è da riferirsi con ogni probabilità alle lotte contro gli Illiri del continente. Il confronto stilistico e metrologico è poi facilmente fattibile con le emissioni siracusane con Zeus Eleutherios/fulmine che si datano ora ad età post-timolentea* (podcrtao M. Z.). Na zadnjim dvjema stranicama Gorini još razrađuje ovu kronologiju na nekim primjercima, a sve su to emisije della fine del IV secolo. Vrijeme poslije Timoleonta (344.-337.), zaslužnog vojskovođe i državnika, vrijeme je Sicilije bez tiranina. Njega su Sirakužani bili pozvali iz Korinta kao arbitra u sukobu s drugim gradovima. Pobijedio je Kartažane kod rijeke Krimisa 339., te vratio stare granice i mir Sirakužanima i drugim Grcima.

Prema tome, da ne duljim, jer sam već prešao željeni opseg, postoji luka Herakleja, koju spominje vrelo iz druge polovine 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. Iz toga su vremena i emisije novca s imenom tog naselja. Ti su novci nađeni na otoku Hvaru. Neki misle da ih ima više u Starome Gradu, ja mislim da ih ima više u gradu Hvaru, prema podacima starijih auktora (Boglić, Novak i dr.). Međutim, to čak i nije bitno za ubikaciju Herakleje u Hvaru. Heraklejska kovnica djeluje, prema onome što danas možemo reći, nekoliko desetljeća. Faros ima svoju kovnicu koja, uz kraće prekide, kuje svoje novce gotovo dvije stotine godina, kao i isejska. Ako je heraklejska kovnica bila u Hvaru, a jest, s obzirom na pretežni broj njezinih novaca nađenih uglavnom na otoku i sporadično ponegdje na otocima i na obali, a koliko znamo Faros nije mijenjao svoje ime tijekom svoga postojanja, onda se moramo zapitati: gdje je na otoku bila ta Herakleja? Logičan je odgovor da je to jedino mogla biti luka Hvara i njegovo naselje, koji su

a date in the first half of the fourth century". I did not find this fact, although it would be nice, for it would mean that Herakleia existed parallel to Pharos, which is, as far as is currently known, contrary to historical and archaeological knowledge. Otherwise, it is likely that some data would have remained in contemporary Syracusan or other sources of the time, had Herakleia existed during the time of Dionysius's activities on the Adriatic, but at that time only Pharos and Issa were known to have existed. According to some views, Herakleia is located on the island of Corcyra (Kerkyra - Corfu), but this is Corcyra and there are no Herakleian coins there. The Pharos mint, as far as we know, outlived the Herakleia mint into the third century BC, when it was replaced by the currency of the Roman Republic.

Kirigin reiterated all of his comments verbatim in his text "The Greeks in Central Dalmatia", in the publication from a symposium held in Venice.¹⁷ This same publication contains my contribution "La Dalmazia in età imperiale". The answer to his dating of Herakleian coins can be found in the work by Prof. Gorini in the same publication, thirty pages later: "La presenza di moneta greca in Dalmazia".¹⁸ After he analyzed the typology of these coins and their Syracusan models, Gorini wrote "that the issues associated with Dionysius came to Dalmatia during his reign", and he mentioned re-mints of Athenian coins, including those of Dionysius, which occurred after his fall, and he continued: "Pertanto una datazione all'età timolentea o post timolentea mi sembra ancora la più plausibile. A questa cronologia conduce anche il raffronto ponderale tra le emissioni bronzee timolentee e quelle adriatiche. Infatti alcuni esemplari, riconiati su stella marina (Syracusan - M. Z.), sono vicini ad una dracma di 32 gr circa di peso, mentre la maggior parte delle emissioni sia delle serie anepigrafi, sia delle serie con legenda IONIOS, sia quelle di Pharos e di Heraclea sono tutte su di una media di 19/16 grammi palesando una uniformità ponderale e quindi cronologica (underlined by M. Z.), visto che queste monete si trovano associate negli stressi ripostigli e pernanto dovettero circolare insieme come confermano i ripostigli di Lesina /Stari Grad/ e di Škudljivac il cui interramento è da riferirsi con ogni probabilità alle lotte contro gli Illiri del continente. Il confronto stilistico e metrologico è poi facilmente fattibile con le emissioni siracusane con Zeus Eleutherios/fulmine che si datano ora ad età post-timolentea (underlined by M. Z.)". On his last two pages, Gorini breaks down the chronology with some examples, and all of these are "emissioni della fine del IV secolo". Sicily was free of tyrants in the time after Timoleon (344-337), a noteworthy military leader and statesman. The Syracusans summoned him from Corinth as an arbiter in their conflicts with other cities. He defeated the Carthaginians at the Battle of the Crimissus in 339, and restored the old borders and peace to the Syracusans and other Greeks.

Thus, to conclude (as I have already exceeded the desired length), there was a harbour called Herakleia, which is mentioned in a source from the latter half of the fourth century BC. Emissions of coins bearing the name of this settlement also date to this time.

17 Kirigin 1999, str. 148-150.

18 Gorini 1999, str. 171.

17 Kirigin 1999, pp. 148-150.

18 Gorini 1999, p. 171.

oduvijek bili jedna od važnijih točaka na jadranskom plovnom putu. Zato ju je i praktični Pseudo-Skilakov priručnik za plovidbu i spomenuo, jer joj je bio i istovremen. To je, uostalom, izrekao već i J. Brunšmid, u svome klasičnom tekstu o grčkim novcima i natpisima u Dalmaciji, što su kasniji auktori na neki način ignorirali ili previdali. Danas, kada smo raščistili i bolje upoznali arheološku topografiju otoka, Hvar se javlja kao ključno strateško pomorsko mjesto na otoku i u tim davnim stoljećima, što je ostao i danas. Da bi se došlo do Staroga Grada, treba ući u duboko uvučeni zaljev, koji je bio izvan glavnog pomorskog puta. Hvar se, međutim, nalazio upravo na toj glavnoj ruti i lađe su, diktatom najpogodnije plovidbe, prolazile ovuda i zaustavljale se u pogodnim lučicama i uvalama u Hvaru i oko njega te ondje često i čekale da se vjetrovi smire. Kretanje ljudi i brodova oduvijek je bilo izvor trgovine i prihoda, pa i to objašnjava hvarske kovove i prekove. Zašto je heraklejska kovnica relativno kratko trajala i nestala sa svojim imenom, teško je precizno utvrditi. Nitko to nije zabilježio pa su jedini dokumenti novci i spomen u jednom vrelu. Većina auktora to tumači povijesnim promjenama nakon pada sirakuške vlasti i rasta ilirske ardijske zajednice na obali. U svakom slučaju, mislim da ne postoji nikakva mogućnost da se ovo naselje nalazilo daleko na jugu, u Haoniji, danas južnoj Albaniji, jer ondje nema ni traga novcu ove naseobine. Njezin se novac kuje na Hvaru, u realnim i logičnim povijesnim okolnostima. Naravno, uvijek ima pitanja na koja je teško dati odgovor, ali ime naselja i njegovu kovnicu treba vezati uz Hvar, i to uz grad Hvar, zbog njegova položaja i značenja njegove luke i drugih zaštićenih uvala u blizini i na Paklinskim otocima. Potonuli antički tereti to također potvrđuju na svoj način.

Stoga nemam razloga mijenjati svoje mišljenje, koje sam opsežno iznio u svojoj prvoj raspravi, a ovdje odgovorio na neke primjedbe i dodao neke nove elemente koji potvrđuju ono što sam tamo rekao. Molim, dakle, dobrohotne čitatelje, da poklone svoju ljubaznu pažnju ovim razmišljanjima.

These coins were found on the island of Hvar. Some believe there are more in Stari Grad, and I believe there are more in the town of Hvar, based on the data provided by older authors (Boglić, Novak and others). However, even this is unimportant to determining the precise location of Herakleia in Hvar. Pharos had its mint which, with brief interruptions, minted its own coins for roughly two hundred years, as did the mint in Issa. If the Herakleia mint was in Hvar, and it was, given that most of its coins were generally found on the island and sporadically elsewhere on the islands and the mainland, and since we know that Pharos did not change its name throughout its existence, then we must ask ourselves: where on the island was this Herakleia? A logical response is that it only could have been the harbour of Hvar and the adjacent settlement, which has always been one of the most important points on the Adriatic navigation route. This is why the practical manual written by Pseudo-Scylax mentions it, because he was a contemporary. This was after all already noted by J. Brunšmid as well in his classic text on Greek coins and inscriptions in Dalmatia, which subsequent authors either ignored or overlooked. Today, when the archaeological topography of the island has been clarified and better illuminated, Hvar appears as a key strategic maritime point on the island even in those distant centuries, which it has remained to this day. To reach Stari Grad, one must enter a deeply withdrawn inlet, which was far from the main navigation route. Hvar, however, was right on the principal route, and barges, dictated by the needs of the most favourable navigation, passed by it and stopped at the convenient marinas and coves in and around Hvar, often waiting out harsh winds there. The movement of people and vessels has always been a source of trade and income, so this explains the mint and re-mint of Hvar coins. Why the Herakleia mint lasted only a relatively brief time and disappeared with its name cannot be precisely ascertained. Nobody has recorded this, so the only documentation is the coins and the reference in a single source. Most authors interpret this as a consequence of the historical change precipitated by the fall of Syracusan authority and the rise of the Illyrian Ardiaei community on the mainland coast. In any case, I believe that there is little possibility that this settlement was located far to the south, in Chaonia, in today's Southern Albania, because there are no traces of either the coins or settlement there. Its coins were minted on Hvar given the realistic and logical historical circumstances. Of course, there are always questions that are difficult to answer, but the name of the settlement and its mint should be linked to the island of Hvar and, specifically, to the town of Hvar on that island, because of its location and the importance of its harbour and other sheltered coves nearby and on the Pakleni Islands. Sunken cargo dated to Antiquity also confirm this in their own way.

Thus, I have no reason to alter my views, which I have already extensively explained in my first discussion, and here I simply responded to some criticisms and added some new elements which confirm what I had already said. I therefore ask all readers of good will to accord their kind attention to these considerations.

Kratice / Abbreviations

ARR - Arheološki radovi i rasprave

CIL - Corpus inscriptionum latinarum

JAZU - Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti

MH - Matica hrvatska

Opvsc. archaeol. - Opuscula archaeologica

PWRE - Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie

VAHD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku

VAMZ - Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu

Izvori / SourcesPseudo-Skilak, *Peripl*Plin., *N. H.* = Plinije Stariji (C. Plinius Secundus), *Naturalis historia*Strabon = Strabon, *Geografija***Literatura / References**

Bérard 1957

Jean Bérard, *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité. L'histoire et la légende*, Paris 1957.

Bonačić Mandinić 1988

M. Bonačić Mandinić, *Novac Herakleje u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu*, VAHD 81, Split 1988, 65-80.

Braccesi 1994

L. Braccesi, *Eracle, Cesare e i Bretanni*, u: *Grecità di frontiera. I percorsi occidentali della legenda*, Padova 1994, 129-134.

Brunšmid 1898

J. Brunšmid, *Die Inschriften und Münzen der griechischen Städte Dalmtiens*, Wien 1898.

Brunšmid 1998

J. Brunšmid, *Natpisi i novac grčkih gradova u Dalmaciji*, prijevod M. Bonačić Mandinić, Split 1998.

Gisinger 1927

F. Gisinger, *Skylax*, PWRE III A, Stuttgart 1929, 619-646.

Gisinger 1927

F. Gisinger, *Skymno*, PWRE III A, Stuttgart 1929, 662-687.

Gorini 1982

G. Gorini, *Monete greche riconiate in Dalmazia*, Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Numismatic, Luxembourg 1982, 141-146.

Gorini 1999

G. Gorini, *Aspetti della presenza di moneta greca in Adriatico*, u: *La Dalmazia e l'altra sponda. Problemi di archaiologhía adriatica*, Atti del Convegno, Venezia, 16-17 gennaio 1996, L. Braccesi, S. Graciotti (ur.), Firenze 1999, 165-173.

Jeličić 1981

J. Jeličić, *Heraklov žrtvenik i ostali nalazi u Segetu Donjem kod Trogira*, VAHD 75, Split 1981, 97-104.

Kirigin 1999

B. Kirigin, *The Greeks in Central Dalmatia*, u *La Dalmazia e l'altra sponda. Problemi di archaiologhía adriatica*, Atti del Convegno, Venezia, 16-17 gennaio 1996, L. Braccesi, S. Graciotti (ur.), Firenze 1999, 147-164.

Kirigin 2004

B. Kirigin, *Faros parska naseobina. Prilog proučavanju grčke civilizacije u Dalmaciji*, VAHD 96, Split 2004, 9-301.

Mimica 2003

B. Mimica, *Novac grčkih kolonija i antičke Iliride na istočnoj obali Jadrana*, Numizmatičke vijesti 56, Zagreb 2003, 5-7.

Mirnik 1981

I. Mirnik, *Coin Hoards in Yugoslavia*, Oxford 1981.

Nikolanci 1977

M. Nikolanci, *Petar Nisiteo Nižetić kao arheolog*, Hvar u prirodnim znanostima, Simpozij JAZU, Zagreb 1977, 199-203.

Novak 1924

G. Novak, *Dimos i Herakleja*, Strena Buliciana, Zagreb - Split 1924, 655-658.

Rendić Miočević 1970

D. Rendić Miočević, *Ionios "To Genos Illyrios" i novci grčko-ilirskih kovnica na Jadrana*, Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua-Miscellanea Gregorio Novak dicata, Zagreb 1970, 347-376.

Rendić Miočević 1989

D. Rendić Miočević, *Iliri i antički svijet*, Split 1989.

Suić 1955

M. Suić, *Istočna jadranska obala u Pseudo Skilakovu Periplusu*, Rad JAZU, knj. 306, Zagreb 1955, 121-186.

Zaninović 2006

M. Zaninović, *Herakleia on the Island of Hvar*, Folia archaeologica balcanica 1, Skopje 2006, 125-128.

Suić 1996

M. Suić, *Odabrani radovi iz stare povijesti Hrvatske-Opera selecta*, Zadar 1996, 191-261.

Visonà 1982

P. Visonà, *Early Greek Bronze Coinage in Dalmatia and Škuljivac Hoard*, Proceedings of 9th International Congress of Numismatica, Luxembourg 1982, 680-689.

Zaninović 1992

M. Zaninović, *Pomorstvo Ardijejaca kao temelj njihove moći*, Opusc. Archaeol. 16, Zagreb 1992, 103-115.

Zaninović 1991-1992

M. Zaninović, *Heraclea Pharia*, VAMZ, 3. ser., 24-25, Zagreb 1991-1992, 35-48.

Zaninović 1995

M. Zaninović, *Hvar od prapovijesti do dolaska Hrvata*, u: M. Mihovilović i suradnici, *Otok Hvar*, Zagreb 1995, 139-169.

Zaninović 1996

M. Zaninović, *Od Helena do Hrvata*, Zagreb 1996, 9-191.

Zaninović 2001

M. Zaninović, *Kelti na Jadranu*, Opusc. archaeol. 25, Zagreb 2001, 57-63.

Zaninović 2004

M. Zaninović, *Antički Grci na hrvatskoj obali*, ARR 14, Zagreb 2004, 1-57.